CHAPTER IX.

KRISHNARĀJA WODEYAR II, 1734-1766—(*contd.*)

Sixth Phase: 1755-1759—Deccan affairs, down to 1755—French influence in Hyderabad—The Karnatak policy of the Nizam and the Peshwa (down to 1755)—Invasion of Seringapatam by the Nizam and the Mahrattas, *c.* March-June, 1755—Internal affairs, 1755-1759: Strained relations between the Dalavais and Krishnaraja—A silent Revolution: Beginnings, 1755—Securing the Palace and person of the king—Further developments, 1756—Nanjarajaiya supreme, 1756-1757—Renewed Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam, 1757: Nanjarajaiya buys off the Peshwa—The crisis of 1757-1758: Reconciliation between the Dalavais and Krishnaraja; Execution of a *Bhasha-patra*—Nanjarajaiya in Mysore, 1759: Krishnaraja seeks Haidar's help to put him down.

Sixth Phase: 1755-1759.

WE must now take a retrospect of the general course of affairs in the Deccan,[1] which led to the invasion of Seringapatam by the Mahrattas and the Nizām in 1755, and necessitated the recall of Nanjarājaiya from Trichinopoly.

Deccan affairs, down to 1755.

As related in an earlier chapter, the Mahrattas and the Nizām, in the period down to 1748, had been contesting keenly the sovereignty of the South of India up to Trichinopoly and their attempts had been attended with varying degrees of success. The foreign and domestic troubles which followed on the deaths of Nizām-ul-mulk (1748) and Shāhu (1749), however, stood in the way of the effective realization of this objective by these Deccan

1. *Vide*, on this section, Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, III. 1-19, 29-34; *C. H. I.*, V. 134-138.

powers—particularly the Mahrattas. In the monsoon season of 1750, Pēshwa Bālāji Rao, as an ostensible ally of Nāsir Jang against Muzaffar Jang, entered the Nizām's territories to bring them under Mahratta sway. Disturbed in his plan by the death (by treachery) of Nāsir (December 1750) and the rise of the French in the south as allies of Muzaffar and Chandā Sāhib, Bālāji Rao, about the end of December, negotiated with Saiyid Lāshkar Khān, Governor of Aurangabad, to support the claims of Ghāzi-ud-dīn, eldest son of Nizām-ul-mulk—then in high office at the court of Delhi—to the Nizāmate of the Deccan, in return for the cession by him of Aurangabad and Burhanpur as the price of Mahratta assistance. By the middle of February 1751, the Pēshwa occupied these places. About the same time, Muzaffar Jang had been slain by his enemies (at Rāchōṭi) and Salābat Jang succeeded to the Subādāri of the Deccan with M. de Bussy's help, while at Satāra, Tārābāi, in league with Dāmāji Gaekwāḍ, was threatening the entire fabric of Mahratta power. So that at the end of February, Bālāji Rao was obliged to make peace with Salābat Jang (on the latter agreeing to pay him rupees 17 lakhs, 2 in cash and the rest in bills on bankers) and retire to Poona to deal with Tārābāi's opposition (March-April). In June, Salābat Jang, with his French allies, occupied Aurangabad. In November, however, Bālāji Rao, taking up Ghāzi-ud-dīn's cause, renewed the war with Salābat, the latter having put off paying his dues and attacked a Mahratta convoy. In the actions which followed (at Kukadi and Ghodnadi, November-December), the Mahrattas at first sustained reverses at the hands of Salābat and de Bussy during a night-attack, but later overwhelmed their opponents by a vigorous charge, taking the fort of Triambak. In January 1752, Salābat entered into a truce with the Pēshwa at Shingwa and retreated. In March-September, Dāmāji and Tārābāi, too, made

peace with Bālāji Rao. In the meanwhile, Ghāzi-ud-dīn, supported by Hōḷkar, Sindhia and the main Mahratta army, proceeded to Aurangabad to contest his legitimate claims for the Subādāri of the Deccan with Salābat Jang, but, unfortunately, was poisoned to death by one of his step-mothers in the Aurangabad Palace (October 16). Salābat thus became the undisputed master of the Deccan but the Mahrattas insisted on his carrying out Ghāzi-ud-dīn's engagements with them. On November 25, 1752, Salābat concluded with them the treaty of Bhalki, ceding to the Pēshwa the town and fort of Triambak and the entire country west of Berār from the Tapti to the Gōdāvarī (comprising Aurangabad and Burhanpur).

French influence in Hyderabad.

With the establishment of Salābat Jang in Hyderabad, French influence became predominant in his court, which was as much abhorred by the local nobility as it tended to checkmate Bālāji Rao in his ambitious designs. The Pēshwa, therefore, in concert with Saiyid Lāshkar Khān (Dewān of Salābat Jang in succession to Rājā Raghunāth Dās who was assassinated early in 1752), set himself to work out a scheme whereby to get rid of M. de Bussy and his army from the Deccan. At the end of 1752, Bussy prepared to enter Mysore to assist in Dupleix's plans against Trichinopoly but was checked by the refusal of Salābat's troops to move. Early in 1753, Bussy fell seriously ill and in February proceeded to Masulipatam to recover his health. During his absence from Hyderabad, Saiyid Lāshkar Khān began to work actively in the Pēshwa's interest. While he persuaded Salābat Jang to return to Aurangabad, he reduced the strength of Goupil, Bussy's lieutenant, by prevailing upon him to relax the strictness of his discipline, divide and scatter the major portion of his troops and go about the country to collect their pay by plundering the

neighbouring districts. The French cause in the Deccan seemed thus to be on the point of collapse. In May, however, de Bussy returned to Hyderabad and in October, recalling his detachments, he led them against Aurangabad. In December, he recovered his ground by obtaining from Salābat Jang a grant of the *Northern Sarkārs* (yielding annually a revenue of rupees thirty-one lakhs) for the maintenance of his troops. Early in 1754, he reformed the ministry of Salābat, replacing Saiyid Lāshkar Khān by Shāh Nawāz Khān. In March-April, he settled the Nizām's trouble with Raghuji-Bhōnsle in Berār and prepared to set out for the *Sarkārs*, arriving at Bezwada in July. At the same time, Bālāji Rao continued to be active, urging Shāh Nawāz Khān to fresh plots against M. Bussy; and his southern objective was further aided by the recall of M. Dupleix to France (in August), by M. Godeheu's recognition of Muhammad Alī as the Nawāb of Arcot (in December), by Salābat's resentment at it and his inclination to rely on English military help to support his interests, and lastly by the growth of a real national sentiment among the nobles of the *Subāh*, who sought the expulsion of the French. In January 1755, de Bussy returned to Hyderabad. Despite his attempts to smooth matters over, he found his position at the Nizām's court considerably shaken. Worse still, to complete his (Bussy's) downfall, Shāh Nawāz Khān advised Salābat Jang to demand the Mughal's contributions (*Pēshkāsh*) from Mysore. M. Bussy was expected to oppose this proposal, Mysore, about this time, being still in alliance with the French. He, however, proved himself equal to the occasion and took the direction of the invading army of Salābat. So that, by February 1755, Mysore became the common objective of both the Pēshwa and the Nizām, each marching on her, taking different routes.

The Karnāṭak policy of the Nizām and the Pēshwa (down to 1755).

These developments apart, the Nizām and the Mahrattas were, during the period 1751-1755, closely watching the trend of Karnāṭak affairs, the Mahrattas, in particular, steadily keeping an eye on the reduction of Mysore as an important step in the evolution of their southern policy. In 1751, the Pēshwa and the Nizām seemed desirous of enforcing their pretended claims on the Karnāṭak, finding in Murāri Rao of Gooty a no mean competitor. And there were possibilities of success to the Pēshwa.[2] Already during 1751-1752, Bālāji Rao established diplomatic relations with the court of Seringapatam, putting forth claims for *chauth* from Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya,[3] who, however, adopted dilatory tactics.[4] A letter, dated September 18, 1752,[5] points to the disturbed state of South Indian politics; desires the Pēshwa's immediate presence in the south, and urges him to make a definite move to win over the whole of the Karnāṭak by the application of "the divide and rule" policy. In the same year, Salābat Jang, it is significant, was known to have positively ordered both Muhammad Alī and the English "not to give away Trichinopoly" [to Mysore], and Mysore "not to demand it."[6] In February-March 1753, the Pēshwa, while ostensibly maintaining friendly relations with Muhammad Alī and the English, attempted an alliance with Dupleix who, however, viewed with suspicion his movements, and pressed him not to support the Nawāb but to help the French in settling the province of Arcot and realising the *chauth*, etc., of the Mahrattas.[7] About the end of

2. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 77,? dated October 1751.
3. *Ibid*; also *Letter* No. 81, dated February 7, 1752—Rāṇōji Naik, Seringapatam, to Pēshwa.
4. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 81 *supra*.
5. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 84, dated September 18, 1752—Shāma Rao Yādava, Nārāyaṇpet, to Pēshwa.
6. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1752), pp. 103-104: *Consultation* dated December 30, 1752.
7. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, (l.c.), *Letter* Nos. 93, 94, 96 and 97, dated February 13, 22, March 3 and 8—Shāma Rao Yādava, Pondicherry, to Pēshwa.

March, Bālāji Rao succeeded in exacting rupees 25-30 lakhs from Mysore while rejecting her offer of a "caroat of rupees" for securing Trichinopoly to her.[8] The Pēshwa was even expected to mount the ghāṭs and march on Trichinopoly, but he returned to Poona by way of Basavāpaṭṇa, in view apparently of the approaching monsoon.[9] The truth was that he deferred his southern project and sought to bide his time. For the moment, he prevailed on the Mysoreans and the French (whose respective designs he knew well) to put an end to the troubles, and agree and conclude peace with the Nawāb.[10] At the same time, he advised the English to continue their assistance to Muhammad Alī, "to preserve the Trichinopoly fort" for four months and "get a fresh *sanad*" from Salābat Jang in the name of the Nawāb for the forts of Arcot and Trichinopoly.[11] And he had had an eye on Trichinopoly itself as the base of his power in South India. "I shall," he said,[12] "build my power and settle all affairs there." In March-April 1754, Bālāji Rao was again in Mysore and great expectations had been held out of a much intended arrival of his at Trichinopoly.[13] He, however, returned to Poona after effecting a compromise with the Mysoreans but refusing to agree to their measures about Trichinopoly.[14] In January 1755,

8. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1753), p. 74: *Consultation* dated May 9, 1753; *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 56, *Letter* No. 97, dated April 5, 1753—Krishṇāji-Pant to Saunders.
9. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 100, dated April 22, 1753—Shāma Rao Yādava, Vellore, to Pēshwa; *Count. Corres.*, l.c.; *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 282: *Notes* dated February 16, 1753.
10. *Count. Corres.*, p. 52: *Letter* No. 93, dated May 5, 1753—Bālāji Rao to Saunders; pp. 86-87: *Letter* No. 138, dated May 6, 1753—Krishṇāji-Pant to Saunders (enclosing Bālāji Rao's reply to his letter); and pp. 90-91: *Letter* No. 146, dated June 23, 1753—Bālāji Rao to Nawāb.
11. *Ibid*, *Letter* Nos. 138 and 146 *supra*.
12. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 138 *supra*. *Vide* also, on this point, text of f.n. 24 and 25 in Ch. X below.
13. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1754), p. 102+ *Consultation* dated April 25, 1754; p. 95: *Consultation* dated April 30, 1754.
14. *Ibid*, pp. 112 and 115: *Consultation* dated May 12 and 22, 1754.

the Pēshwa sent dresses of honour to the statesmen of Seringapatam through Banāji Mādhava Rao (Banāji-Pant) and Rāma Rao, renewing his claims for his alleged dues.[15]

Invasion of Seringapatam by the Nizām and the Mahrattas, *c.* March-June 1755.

Early in March, Salābat Jang with M. de Bussy, having crossed the Krishṇā and levied exactions from the Nawābs of Cuddapah and Kurnool, marched on Mysore by way of Kuṇigal and Hāgalvāḍi, and encamped about five miles from Seringapatam, laying claim to the so called arrears of *Pēshkāsh* due to him (3 to 5 crores, as was variously estimated), and threatening the State with an invasion.[16] At the same time, the Pēshwa's agents too, at the court of Seringapatam, continued to press his claims for *chauth* from Mysore.[17] Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya was in serious straits. The Government was involved in debt and he had, besides, to provide for the expenses of the Mysore army below the ghāṭs (at Śrīrangam).[18] While, therefore, an attempt was made to satisfy the Pēshwa by a

15. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXII, *Letter* No. 159, dated January 15, 1755—Extract from the expenditure sheets of the Pēshwa when on tour. Among the personages mentioned in the record (to whom dresses of honour were sent), are: His Highness Jagadrāj (*i.e.*, Jagadēvarāj, the familiar Vijayanagar name by which the king of Mysore is referred to in the *Pēshwa Daftar*); Nandarāj (Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya), Prime Minister; Dēvarāj (Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya), Commander of the army; Vyankaṭapati (Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya), a minister; Virshet (Vīra Seṭṭi) [a merchant]; Chenavir Dēvaroo (Channavīra Dēvaru); Chenapaya (Channappaiya of *Bāgila-Kandāchāra*), a minister; the Queen Mother of the king (the dowager queen); and the wife of the Commander.

16. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 10; *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 112, dated March 8, 1755—Banāji Mādhava Rao to Bābā Sāheb *alias* Mahadōba Purandhare; XXIX, *Letter* No. 1, ? March 1755—Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya to Dādaji-Paṇḍit Gōsāvi; *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1755), pp. 66, 70, 76, 78, 83: *Consultations* for April-May 1755; *Count. Corres.* (1755), p. 41, *Letter* No. 100, dated May 5, 1755—Nawāb to Saunders; see also and compare *Di. A. Pi.*, IX. 177-178, 238-239, 255, 259, 260, 265-266, 281, 292, 293-294, 297, 304: *Notes* for February, April-June 1755; also references *infra*.

17. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* Nos. 1 and 112 *supra*.

18. *Ibid.*

recourse to dilly dallying,[19] it was represented to the Nizām that the great losses the Mysoreans had sustained on the Trichinopoly enterprise prevented their meeting his exorbitant demands.[20] On March 8, Banāji Mādhava Rao, the Pēshwa's representative at Seringapatam, wrote[21] to Bābā Sāheb, urging the immediate march of the Mahratta forces as the only means by which they could hope to realise their claims. In or about April, the Pēshwa, crossing the Tungabhadrā, arrived with his horse beneath the walls of Seringapatam.[22] Whereupon the authorities, as related in the preceding chapter, sent in an express message to Nanjarājaiya at Śrīrangam, desiring him to return to the capital; and Dēvarājaiya prepared to meet the combined forces of the Nizām and the Pēshwa.[23] Early in April, a fierce fight ensued, in which many perished on either side; Salābat Jang and Bussy, however, got the upper hand and seized Sōmavārpet (a suburb of Seringapatam), finally investing Seringapatam itself.[24] Meanwhile Nanjarājaiya, having left Śrīrangam on the night of 8th April as already narrated, reached the fort of Nāmakal by the 19th.[25] During his stay there,

19. *Ibid.*
20. *Di. A. Pi.*, 281: *Notes* dated April 19, 1755.
21. *Sel. Pesh. Daft., Letter* No. 112 *supra.*
22. Kincaid and Parasnis (*o.c.*, III. 33-34) speak of the Mahratta expedition of 1754-1755, but in the light of the document from the *Pēshwa Daftar*, above referred to, the Pēshwa appears to have been before Seringapatam not earlier than April 1755. A military advice, dated April 26, 1755, refers to the arrival in Trichinopoly of the Tanjore Vakīl from the army of the Nāna (Pēshwa Bālāji Rao) and Salābat Jang, encamped "near Syringapatam" (Seringapatam) (*Di. Cons. Bk.*, 1755, p. 76: Captain Caillaud to the Board). The *Di. A. Pi.* (p. 260) records, on April 12, 1755, an invasion of Mysore by "the Nana's horse and Salabat Jang." Obviously the Mahrattas had arrived in Seringapatam in or about April 1755. For details about the investing forces, see f.n. 23 *infra.*
23. According to Capt. Caillaud's advice, above referred to, M. Bussy commanded "500 French, and 4,000 sepoys." "The army consists, besides, of country troops, 60,000 horse and 300 Europeans in the Nana's service."
24. *Di. A. Pi.*, 260 *supra*; also 292, 293-294, and 297: *Notes* dated April 25-26, and May 3, 1755.
25. *Ibid*, 281: *Notes* dated April 19, 1755.

he not only levied contributions (to the extent of 5-6 lakhs of *varahas*) from the local officials to meet the arrears of pay of his troops,[26] but also kept up communication with the court of Pondicherry. He is represented to have requested M. de Leyrit, the new French Governor, to write to de Bussy at Seringapatam about his alliance with the French and, through the latter's influence, to prevail upon Salābat Jang to collect only the usual *Pēshkāsh* from Mysore.[27] And it is added that though seemingly reluctant to interfere, M. de Leyrit, in view apparently of the prospects of Nanjarājaiya's dues to the French Government being speedily discharged, replied to him about his having advised M. Bussy to help him as far as possible.[28] This, in effect, suggests that the French were to moderate, if not wholly abate, their illegal demands on Mysore, whether it be their own alleged claims or those of the Nizām. In May, M. Bussy and Salābat Jang received letters from Pondicherry to the effect that "as the Mysore Raja is under the French flag, he must not be attacked or put to trouble and that only the usual *Peshkash* should be collected."[29] That was a literal fulfilment of the representation made, indeed, too literal to be taken too seriously. About this time the invading forces of the Nizām were, it is said, on the point of capturing the fort of Seringapatam.[30] Forthwith they ceased to attack and, it is added, demanded payment.[31] After protracted negotiations the matter was, we are told, settled for fifty-six lakhs of

26. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 10; see also and compare *Di. A Pi.*, 283: *Notes* dated April 21, 1755.
27. *Di. A. Pi.*, 287, 291-293: *Notes* dated April 24-25, 1755 (recording letters of Nanjarājaiya to Ananda Ranga Pillai); 294-295: *Notes* of the same date (containing a summary of the letters as furnished to the Governor).
28. *Ibid*, 295-296: *Notes* dated April 26, 1755.
29. *Ibid*, 319: *Notes* dated June 29, 1755.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*

rupees.[32] Only one-third of this could, however, be paid in ready money, the amount being made up with considerable difficulty from the treasury balances and the jewels and valuable effects of the Seringapatam Palace and temple.[33] For the remaining two-thirds, bills on the security of local merchants (*sowcārs*) were issued, and their personal clerks (*gumāstas*) pledged as hostages

32. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 11. According to the *Di. Cons. Bk.* (p. 92: *Consultation* dated June 12, 1755), the total sum reported to have been collected by Salābat was 52 lakhs. Further, according to this source, M. Law, who was with Bussy in Seringapatam, "made a demand on Mysore, in the name of the French Company, for 7 lakhs, for the loss they [the French] sustained when he was taken along with Chundah [Chandā Sāhib]. The money was refused and at M. Bussy's request Law desisted from his demand . . . " A still later document, a *Madras Despatch* dated October 27, 1755, refers to the amount collected by Salābat Jang from Mysore, according to report, as 33 lakhs (*Mad. Desp.*, 1754-1765, p. 40). According to the *Di. A. Pi.* (p. 320: *Notes* dated June 29, 1755), the authorities at Seringapatam replied that even the usual *Pēshkāsh* could not be paid, and the French decided to put a boy of the royal family on the throne, who was brought and installed with the usual ceremonies, in the name of the French. "But then," says the Diarist, "a letter was written to M. Bussy who explained everything to Salabat Jang and settled the matter for 52 lakhs, for the payment of which a long period was allowed," etc. A recent writer seems to attach too much importance to the statement in the *Diary* that a boy from the royal family was put on the throne by the French to gain their own objective. From this he goes to suggest that the French invaders "set up a rival Rāja to spite Dēva Rāja" (see C. S. Srinivasachari in *J. I. H.*, Vol. XIV, p. 253, f.n. 7). There is no reason why the French should have had recourse to this curious proceeding when Krishnarāja Wodeyar II, the reigning king of Mysore at the time, was himself only a young man of 27 years of age, whom they could have easily won over. Under the troubled political conditions of the times and the defective system of transmission of news prevailing in the country, the Diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai did not, as we have elsewhere shown, always write from first-hand knowledge. From a reading between the lines of his version of Mysore affairs of 1755, one is inclined to doubt if he is not recording this portion of it from hearsay. More so, as there is not even a whisper of the particulars mentioned by the Diarist, either in the *Fort St. George Records*, or in the contemporary local chronicle *Haidar-Nāmāh*, touching on the event. The latter source, on the other hand, would maintain how the Seringapatam authorities themselves settled the money claim for 56 lakhs, and strained every nerve to raise the amount, etc., as narrated above. The authority of this work seems preferable here.

33. *Ibid.* According to the *Di. Cons. Bk.* (l.c.), Salābat Jang collected "27 lakhs" in "ready money" and "bills on the merchants for the rest." Cf. *Di. A. Pi.* (l.c.), which merely speaks of a long period being allowed for the payment of the amount, etc.

(some of whom later died and some made good their escape before the realisation of the dues).[34] Having exacted thus much, Salābat Jang with M. Bussy retired to Hyderabad about the beginning of June.[35] The Mahrattas, however, retraced their steps, M. Bussy having, during an audience with the Pēshwa, brought home to him the utter uselessness of making further demands on Mysore.[36]

Internal affairs, 1755-1759.

Early in June, Nanjarājaiya moved on from Nāmakal, arriving at Haradanahaḷḷi on his way to Mysore.[37] By now Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar had attained his twenty-seventh year and had begun to take an active interest in, and view with concern, the affairs of the kingdom. Since 1752 Nanjarājaiya, his father-in-law, had spent over three crores of state treasure in futile attempts to capture Trichinopoly,[38] whereby he brought in steady opposition to his measures,[39] and had "earned nothing but dishonour for the kingdom," while

Strained relations between the Dalavāis and Krishṇarāja.

34. *Ibid.*

35. From the *Di. Cons. Bk.* (pp. 83, 92) it would appear, Salābat Jang had collected his dues from, and left, Seringapatam between May 20 and June 12, 1755. See also and compare Wilks's account of the event (I. 384-386).

36. Kincaid and Parasnis, *o.c.*, III. 34. "Balaji," on this occasion, "was deeply impressed by de Bussy's bearing, his studied courtesy, his unruffled temper, and above all, by his vast capacity for military and civil affairs" (*Ibid*). For a note on M. Bussy, *vide* Appendix II—(7).

37. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 10-11.

38. *Di. A. Pi.*, IX. 370-371: *Notes* dated October 7, 1755.

39. Since July 1752, there was, it would appear, steady opposition in the court of Seringapatam to Nanjarājaiya's activities in the South. According to *Di. A. Pi.* (VIII. 134: *Notes* dated July 10, 1752), "The Dalavoy wishes to take Trichinopoly and rule it for himself. So the Raja wishes to check him, lest he should seize him as his predecessors seized the former Raja and took possession of the country.—The Raja is therefore trying to strengthen himself and will then attack the Dalavoy." Again, in August 1753, it was reported, Nanjarājaiya's conduct of the Trichinopoly affair was "censured at Seringapatam" and "they will send him no more money" (*Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 134: *Consultation* dated August 10, 1753). A *Madras Despatch*, dated November 10, 1754, already referred to (*vide* Ch. VIII, f.n. 93), speaks of Nanjarājaiya as fearing "for his

"all the countries dependent upon Mysore had been ruined."[40] and the State reduced to great want after the exactions of Salābat Jang and M. Bussy. The management of the internal administration of the State too, since 1734, was by no means satisfactory, dominated as it had been by Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya and his favourites. Naturally the Daḷavāi brothers incurred the odium of their erstwhile nominal master and the dowager queen Dēvājamma (Doḍḍamma), who resolved first to seize and imprison Nanjarājaiya and appoint Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya as *Sarvādhikāri* in the former's place.[41] On receipt of this intelligence, Nanjarājaiya halted at Nanjangūḍ, where he collected a rabble (of 300 Europeans, mestices, Topasses and some infantry),[42] and proceeded to Seringapatam in August (*Yuva, Śrāvaṇa*).[43] The brothers, now on their guard, determined to seize Venkaṭapataiya and the members of his party, and keep Krishṇarāja under close custody in the Palace.[44] Not satisfied with this, Nanjarājaiya, in October, plotted against the life of Krishṇarāja, to secure his own position.[45]

A silent Revolution: Beginnings, 1755.

In the words of the contemporary Diarist:[46] "Nandi Raja [Nanjarājaiya] desired to seize the present Raja of Mysore, put him in prison and kill him, so that his

life, should he acknowledge his defeat by withdrawal (from Trichinopoly)." According to *Di. A. Pi.*, again, as we have seen (Ch. VIII, f.n. 112), Nanjarājaiya was on "ill terms" with his master (Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II), already about March-April 1755. The opposition, although it hardly deterred Nanjarājaiya from the pursuit of his ambitious designs, became, however, more pronounced in June 1755, on his arrival at Haradanahaḷḷi.

40. *Di. A. Pi.*, cited in f.n. 38 *supra*.
41. *Ibid*; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 182-183.
42. *Ibid*, 369-370: *Notes* dated October 7, 1755.
43. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 11.
44. *Di. A. Pi.*, 370-371 *supra*.
45. *Ibid*, 376-377: *Notes* dated October 24, 1755 (recording news from Mysore); see also and compare *Ibid*, 394, 396: *Notes* dated November 20, and December 1, 1755; and *Ibid*, X. 181-182: *Notes* dated August 28, 1756.
46. *Ibid*; see also and compare *Ibid*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 395. The reference to the son of the king of Mysore by Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya's daughter, in the

son who was born last year [?] may be placed on the throne. Then Nandi Raja learnt that attempts were being made to seize and imprison him and appoint the chief Pandit Venkatapati Ayyan [Venkaṭapataiya] Pradhani [? Sarvādhikāri]. As the army was under his control, he expected to prevent this. As the Raja's wife is the daughter of Nandi Raja, the latter sent word to her that her husband should be put to death and her son placed on the throne. She replied that such a thing could never be done, for God would not suffer it, so that, if he formed such plans, he would be striving against God and suffer the consequences. At the same time she told her husband about her father's intentions and warned him to be on his guard. The Raja thereupon collected 4,000 faithful men, arming both them and himself. Nandi Raja also made ready, collecting 200 European deserters and marched to battle. But when Devaraja Udaiyar [Dēvarājaiya] (Nandi Raja's elder brother and the chief Dalavoy), who had been ailing, learnt this, thinking that the country was on the verge of destruction and all things would be ruined, if, in tenderness for his health, he did nothing till it was too late, he went to his younger brother, his son-in-law [?] and the Raja, pacifying them and putting a stop to the war. But Nandi Raja then seized Venkatapati Ayyan, the Pradhan, and his people who followed him, imprisoning them, plundering their houses and seizing about 6 lakhs of pagodas . . ."

above passage, is to Nanjarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son, and afterwards successor, of Krishṇarāja II. The Diarist appears to have had no correct information as to the date of Nanjarāja's birth. Here he records as if the king's son was born in 1754, and in another place (*Ibid*, X. 182 *supra*) in 1751. Since Nanjarāja Woḍeyar is known from local accounts to have been a young man of eighteen years of age at the time of his accession in 1766, his date of birth naturally falls in 1748 and he must have been a boy of seven when the events narrated above took place. Again, for "his son-in-law and the Raja" in the same passage read "and his son-in-law the Raja". The son-in-law of Nanjarājaiya was, in effect, the son-in-law of his elder brother Dēvarājaiya also.

Securing the Palace and person of the king.

On the 1st of November (12th day in the dark half of *Āśvīja*), the Diarist continues :[47] "Guards were set on the Raja in his palace ; and the Dalavoy [Dēvarājaiya] summoned the old Pradhani Venkatapati Ayyan, his son and others, to his house and told them that though he and the Raja were as uncle and son-in-law, they and the Raja had resolved to kill each other but that he need not trouble himself about what would come to pass or take any part in it; he reminded him that he had served as *Pradhani* under his younger brother, to whom [the former Rāja] at the time of his death had entrusted his welfare, so that he became one of his household, when he had not even *conjee* to drink and under such protection had become *Pradhani* of Mysore and the master of lakhs. Besides this, sometime after the former Raja's death, when he had been desired to retain the office of *Pradhani*, he had refused, but had still been suffered to enjoy his grants of land and other property, so that he should not have proved a sinner against God. Venkatapati Ayyan replied that that was all true, but that his master had sent for him and told him half a dozen times that as Nandi Raja wanted to put an end to him, he must be seized and kept in prison, that he was bound to do as he was desired, inasmuch as he had eaten the Raja's food, and that that was why he had acted thus. On hearing this Devaraja Udaiyar replied, 'You served not the Raja but my younger brother Nandi Raja who was *Sarvadhikari*. At the time of the [former Rāja's] death, he entrusted you to me and I protected you. So you, as my man, should have told me what your master said when he consulted you, instead of acting as you did.' Thus Venkatapati Ayyan, the former *Pradhani*, and his wife were chained and imprisoned in Manvallidrug

47. *Ibid*, 396-398: *Notes* dated December 1, 1755 (recording the report of Venkaṭanārāṇappa, Mysore Vakīl, on the occurrences at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore).

[? Maḷavaḷḷi] and his son and son-in-law in another drug . . . His brother-in-law and his wife were imprisoned in Kapaldrug [Kabbāḷ-durg]. Thus all his people were imprisoned and their houses and property, gardens, inam villages, etc., were given to Nandi Raja. Three or four days later, people were allowed to go in and out of the Palace; but his master the Raja feared what might happen to him, and certain jemadars, officials, merchants and others concerned in this affair also feared, and the whole town was alarmed. Day and night men burnt with terror at the thought of being falsely accused, not knowing what might happen . . . "

Further developments, 1756.

In place of Venkaṭapataiya, Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya appointed Channappaiya, head of the *Bāgila-Kandāchār* department, as *Pradhān*.[48] Early in January 1756, disagreement arose between the Daḷavāi and Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar,[49] and the latter—now a virtual prisoner in the Palace—secretly communicated with Pēshwa Bālāji Rao, seeking the assistance of his troops.[50] Soon differences also arose between the Daḷavāi brothers themselves, particularly over the shortage of cash in the treasury and the removal of the king's advisers.[51] In vain did Dēvarājaiya remonstrate with Nanjarājaiya over the course of action the latter intended to pursue.[52] At length, on the 3rd of August, matters came to a head, when Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, having decided to shake off the yoke of the Daḷavāis, induced Śābās Sāhib (Haidar's elder brother) to quit their service and entrusted Khaṇḍē Rao with 50,000 gold pieces to be given to Śābās and Haidar to enable them to collect troops and men "with whom to

48. *Annals*, I. 178.
49. *Di. A. Pi.*, X. 14: *Notes* dated January 29, 1756; also *Annals*, I. 182-183. The disagreement, according to the latter source, was due to the king's inquiry into the Daḷavāi's conduct of affairs of state since 1734.
50. *Ibid.* 51. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 11; also *Annals*, I. 183.
52. *Annals*, l.c.; also *Wilks*, I. 395-397.

attack the fort, the next day."[53] "Knowing this," records the Diarist,[54] "Nandi Raja and the Dalavoy Devaraja Udaiyar ordered the fort gates to be closed and troops to be on the watch all night. Guns were mounted on the walls facing the Palace, and the infantry, Europeans and Topasses, who were hired at Trichinopoly, were posted on the walls. The other troops were posted all round the Palace. Thus they prepared to kill the Raja the next morning. But at once the Raja, the 300 members of the royal family, his priest, some Sudra nobles, his Dalavoy [?], wealthy kinsmen of his father's, a thousand in all, rallied forth with drawn swords and a battle ensued, in which 500 fell on either side. The Dalavoy Nandi Raja's troops retreated and the Raja withdrew to his Palace; Nandi Raja then fired all the guns mounted on the walls, slaying men, women, female servants and others, a hundred persons in all, and then Nandi Raja and Devaraja Udaiyar entered the Palace and ordered all the Raja's people who survived, to be seized and imprisoned. They also resolved to kill the Raja but Krishnaraja Udaiyar's [Krishṇarāja I's] wife who had brought him up, clung to him and vowed that they should kill her first. After much talk, they decided to imprison the Raja, his son and his wife and the woman in the Palace [the dowager queen Dēvājamma] under a guard of Nandi Raja's people. When the Nana's [Pēshwa Bālāji Rao's] Vakil learnt of this, he went to Nandi Raja and said, 'Are you justified in taking up arms against the Raja? It is not well for you to do so. When Nana Sahib learns this, he will visit you heavily.' Nandi Raja then sent men to bring the Raja out of the fort, which they did accordingly. Immediately afterwards the Raja sent a letter to the Nana by four camel messengers, reporting

53. *Di. A. Pi.*, 181-184: *Notes* dated August 28, 1756 (recording the report of Krishṇappa, Mysore Vakil, on the occurrences of 3rd August 1756).
54. *Ibid*, 182-184 *supra*; *cf. Wilks*, I. 396; *Annals*, I. 183-184.

what had happened. The place has since been so closely guarded that men cannot pass to and fro."

Nanjarājaiya supreme, 1756-1757.

Shortly after this occurrence, Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, alarmed for his own safety, left Seringapatam to Satyamangalam, accompanied by 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot and by Pradhān Channappaiya.[55] For the time being, Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya became the master of the situation, "devising means to kill the Raja of Mysore and set another on the throne."[56] Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, at the same time, continued his appeals to the Pēshwa for the assistance of his troops,[57] "offering to pay as much as 60 lakhs of rupees."[58] He was, we learn,[59] even inclined to seek the help of the French at Pondicherry, "to overthrow Nandi Raja"; and it seemed well nigh possible for the French to obtain a diplomatic success by agreeing to bring Nanjarājaiya to subjection on condition of securing from Krishṇarāja the former's dues to them or "some sum, such as he [Krishṇarāja] has offered the Nana."[60] By March 1757 the misunderstanding between the Daḷavāi brothers and Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar had become so acute that there even prevailed a rumour that the former had killed the latter (*Mysore dorai*).[61] In truth, Krishṇarāja, all through the period, managed to maintain his position in the Palace with considerable difficulty, renewing his request to the Pēshwa to come in person,[62] and offering, "if he seized and imprisoned

55. *Hāid. Nām.*, l.c.; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 184, and *Wilks*, I. 397. Cf. the gossipy version reported in *Sel. Pesh. Daft.* (Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 170, dated February 12, 1757?—Tamāji Chando to Pēshwa), referring to the Daḷavāi's expulsion from the kingdom and his perfidious murder at the hands of his enemies!

56. *Di. A. Pi.*, 241-242: *Notes* dated October 31, 1756.

57. *Ibid.* 58. *Ibid*, 242 *supra*. 59. *Ibid.* 60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid*, 317: *Notes* dated March 5, 1757. Dodwell identifies the *Mysore dorai* with the French adventurer Monis in the Mysore service (see *Editorial note* in *Ibid*). In the light of the context, however, the *dorai* actually refers to the king of Mysore. See also *Di. A. Pi.*, 359, for a similar reference.

62. *Ibid*, 345: *Notes* dated April 9, 1757.

Devaraja Udaiyar, the *Dalavoy*, and Nandi Raja, the *Sarvadhikari*, or slew them, and restored him to the possession of the country or got the Trichinopoly country for him, to give him half the country and daily pay amounting to 15,000 rupees for the services of his army."[63] Throughout Nanjarājaiya too held his own, declaring that if the Pēshwa approached he would kill the Rāja (*dorai*) and even the Paṇḍit minister (Venkaṭapataiya, who had been removed to the fort of Seringapatam about April) and others, and then kill himself.[64]

Renewed Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam, 1757.

At last, in March-April 1757, Pēshwa Bālāji Rao (whose presence was badly needed for the protection of the Mahratta outposts in the Karnāṭak and who set out with about 40,000 horse), after having taken possession of the country as far as Sīra and Kōlāla, appeared with Murāri Rao-Ghōrpaḍe (with whom the Pēshwa had concluded an agreement in 1756 for the collection of the *chauth* of the Karnāṭak) before the walls of Seringapatam.[65] In this extremity, Nanjarājaiya found it expedient to buy off the Pēshwa who, through the mediation of Visāji Krishṇa (Beeni Visāji-Pant) and Balavant Rao, settled

Nanjarājayia buys off the Pēshwa.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid*, 359: *Notes* dated April 19, 1757.

65. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* Nos. 161 and 182; *Di. A. Pi.*, 345, 359 *supra*; *Count. Corres.* (1757), pp. 88, 93-94 and 145: *Letter* Nos. 195, 203 and 303, dated May 19, 24 and July 19, 1757; see also and compare *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 12. According to the last-mentioned source, the Pēshwa (Nāna) laid siege to the fort of Seringapatam at the head of 10,000 horse and an equal number of foot, accompanied by Raghunāth Rao, Viśvās Rao and Sadāśiva Rao Bhao. The event is dated in *Dhātu* (1756-1757). In the light of other sources, above referred to, we would not be far wrong in fixing it about the end of March or the beginning of April 1757. The *Di. A. Pi.* (X. 52, 85) and the *Sel. Pesh. Daft.* (*Letter* No. 207) mention also the movements of Bālāji Rao and Salābat Jang against Mysore during 1756 (March-May) and 1757 respectively. These appear to have been at best not more than incursions, variously reported. The Mahratta expedition to Seringapatam in March-April 1757 was, however, a well-planned one. *Kōlāla*, referred to in the text, is now the head-quarters of a *hōbḷi* of that name in Tumkūr taluk (see *List of Villages*, 59). It is not to be confused with Kōlār as is the tendency among certain writers.

his demand for rupees thirty-two lakhs, six lakhs being paid in ready money, jewels and effects, the balance being agreed to be paid within a year and a half on the substantial security of *sowcārs* and the pledge of thirteen taluks (*viz.*, Nāgamangala, Kaḍaba, Bāṇāvar, Kikkēri, Channarāyapaṭṇa, Honnavaḷḷi, Kaḍūr, Turuvēkere, Bēlūr, Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi, Hāranahaḷḷi, Huliyūr-durga and Kandīkere).[66] About May, Bālāji Rao retired from Seringapatam, marching on to Sīra.[67] For ten days after his departure, the fort gate of Seringapatam had been closed and nobody allowed to go out by Nanjarājaiya's orders, and it was not known what was going on in the fort.[68]

The crisis of 1757-1758.

During 1757-1758, the strained relations between the Daḷavāis and Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar continued. Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya remained callous to the invitations of his brother to return to the capital;[69] the State was exposed to a severe financial crisis, remittances to the treasury from local parts having ceased on account of Mahratta incursions;[70] and, as we shall see in the sequel,[71] Seringapatam was constantly threatened with a fresh invasion by the Mahrattas under Balavant Rao, Vīsāji Krishṇa and other sardārs in charge of outposts in different parts of the Karnāṭak for the collection of their alleged dues. The situation became critical about March 1758, when the Mysore military demanded disbursement of arrears of their pay and sat in *dharṇa* before the residences of the king and Nanjarājaiya in the Seringapatam fort.[72] The disturbance was, as we shall relate,[73] promptly quelled, and followed by a compromise

66. *Haid. Nām.*, l. c.; see also and compare *Count. Corres.*, *Letter* No. 203 *supra*; *Wilks*, I. 398; *Annals*, I. 189.
67. *Count. Corres.*, *Letter* Nos. 195, 203 and 303 *supra*.
68. *Di. A. Pi.*, 389: *Notes* dated May 21, 1757.
69. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* Nos. 193, 197 and 201, dated in September-October 1757.
70. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 13.
71. *Vide* Ch. X below.
72. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 13-14.
73. *Vide* Ch. X below.

between Nanjarājaiya and Dēvarājaiya at Mysore in May, and by a reconciliation between the brothers and Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar in a public *Durbār* at Seringapatam in June.[74] On June 23, 1758 (*Bahudhānya, Jyēṣṭha ba.* 2), Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, who had been ailing from a swelling of his body up to the waist, died on his journey back to Satyamangalam.[75] About two months later, Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya was reinstated in office.[76] On October 24, Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, in furtherance of the reconciliation, concluded with his father-in-law (Nanjarājaiya) a deed of promise (*Bhāṣhā-patra*),[77] by which it was agreed, among others, that the civil government of Mysore was to remain in the hands of Krishṇarāja and the members of the Mysore Roÿal Family; that Nanjarājaiya and the members of the Kaḷale House were to retain the command of the Mysore army and enlist horses and men in proportion to the receipts and expenditure of the State; that tracts (*sīme*) approved of by Nanjarājaiya and yielding 2,66,000 *Kaṇṭhīrāya varahas* (out of which 2,24,000 were to be utilised for the pay, etc., of 700 horse, 2,000 *bār*, 500 *Karnāṭakas*, 500 *janjālu*, 106 gunners, 10 Europeans, Coffres, *Kārēgārs* and others serving under him, and 42,000 for Nanjarājaiya's household expenses), were to be assigned to him and managed by him; that the increase of horses and men in his service was to be in proportion to the territorial acquisitions made by Mysore from time to

Reconciliation between the Daḷavāis and Krishṇarāja.

Execution of a *Bhāshā-patra*.

74. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 13; also *Annals*, I. 185.

75. *Ibid*; *Sel. Pesh. Daft., Letter* No. 220. According to Wilks (I. 407), Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya had developed "fatal symptoms of dropsy" even before his departure from Satyamangalam.

76. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 12; *Annals*, I. 184; see also and compare *Sel. Pesh. Daft., Letter* Nos. 219, 220 and 227.

77. *E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 267: *Bahudhānya, Āśvīja ba.* 8. See also the connected document *Nambuge-nirūpa* (order of assurance) [*E.C.*, IV (2) Nj. 268], referred to under *Grants*, etc., in Ch. XII below.

time ; that Nanjarājaiya was to erect a fort in Kaḷale and enjoy the government of it as before ; and that during times of disaffection in the country requiring public action, he was, on his own responsibility, to do the needful, either in person or through other fit persons. In pursuance of this agreement, ten taluks (*viz.*, Nāmakal, Paramatti, Śādamangalam, Beṭṭadapur, Arkalgūḍ, Koṇanūr, Anantagiri, Mysore, Kaṭṭe-maḷaḷavādi and Piriyāpaṭṇa) yielding 3,00,000 *varahas* were assigned as a *jahgīr* to Nanjarājaiya (in December) ;[78] and it was decided that he should be allowed to stay at Koṇanūr.[79] Nanjarājaiya, however, remained in Seringapatam[80] and dominated the administration till June 1759.

Nanjarājaiya in Mysore, 1759.

About this time, however, fresh differences arose between him and Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar (obviously caused by the latter's undue advancement of Haidar, as we shall see in the sequel) and in consequence, Nanjarājaiya retired to Mysore.[81] His stay there soon became a source of suspicion and alarm to the officers at Seringapatam (namely, Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya, Lālā Dās, Khaṇḍē Rao and others), who alleged before Krishṇarāja about his (Nanjarājaiya's) intentions of strengthening himself and eventually subverting the Government.[82] About the end of June, Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar requisitioned the services of *Nawāb Haidar Alī Khān Bahadūr* to lay siege to Mysore.[83]

Krishṇarāja seeks Haidar's help to put him down.

78. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 15. According to this source (l.c.), Nanjarājaiya was finally allowed to retain in his service 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot (*bār*). See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 416 ; *Annals*, I. 188.
79. *Ibid* ; see also and compare *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XL, *Letter* No. 116, dated January 19, 1759 (referring incidentally to the "internal feud" in the State, attempted compromise, etc.) ; cf. *Wilks* and *Annals*, l.c.
80. *Ibid*, ff. 18 ; see also and compare *Wilks*, l.c. ; and *Annals*, I. 192.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid*, ff. 19 ; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 416-417 ; *Annals*, I. 191-192.
83. *Ibid.*